1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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that action has been taken in keeping with the cosmic laws. This may be clarified by a few examples. As is known, the architecture of some temple buildings and gates should be viewed as a replica of the ordered structure of the universe. In order to give further expression to this fact, and at the same time to create a metaphysical balance in harmony with the cosmic order maintained by the eight guardians of the directions, the *nawa-sanga* is depicted on both the cornice and the base of temple buildings and gates.

In earlier centuries it was also a frequently recurring custom that in important consultations a likeness of the *nawa-sanga* had to be present to maintain the harmonious sphere needed for a favourable result to the discussions. One of the most usual ways of depicting the *nawa-sanga* is to make use of the colours of the gods of the four cardinal directions. These gods, Wisnu in the north, Iswara in the east, Brahma in the south, and Mahadewa in the west, have black, white, red, and yellow as their respective colours. As late as the 'thirties of this century it was the custom in Jĕmbrana to place a cone-shaped floral piece divided into four segments coloured blue (or black), white, red, and yellow on the table during the periodical meetings of the authorities. This floral cone, too, represented the *nawa-sanga*, and even today four-coloured flower offerings are present during meetings on the village level.

Goslings, in his article "Een Nawa-sanga van Lombok",[1] describes the various other ways in which the *nawa-sanga* can be depicted. Besides by their colours, the various gods can also be represented by their mounts and their weapons and by the sacred syllable associated with each of them.

Goslings also calls attention to the vestiges of an older sun-worship cult which have found expression in the system of the *nawa-sanga*. As was just mentioned, the colours of the gods of the four cardinal directions are black, white, red, and yellow. The colour of Siwa in the centre is either also white or varicoloured, thus in the latter case composed of the colours of the other gods. Goslings, following Liefrinck, points out that the white colour of Iswara in the east is that of daylight, while the other colours, red,

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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number of sculptors in Bali. Domestic architecture is simply of wood and thatch with secondary walls, undecorated for the most part, and is the concern of carpenters and thatch-workers. Formerly the vassals of the feudal princes built great palaces for them, many of which are still among the finest examples of Balinese architecture, but today the artistic activity of the people goes into the care of their places of worship and other communal buildings, still erected and repaired with great intensity.

In Bali there is no special class of architects, and the sculptors are in charge of designing, directing, and even working themselves in the construction of a temple, assisted by a number of stone- and brick-workers. A master carver should be able to plan beautiful gates, which are the most important examples of Balinese architecture. In Mas, a village of Brahmanas, we saw once an architectural drawing, rather resembling our architectural projects, for a temple gate to be erected in the village. The drawing was made by Ida Bagus Ktut, carver, actor, and musician, member of a whole family of artists; the position and shape of the stones and the carvings on what was to be in sandstone were drawn in great detail on European paper with black ink, with the parts to be made of brick painted red. I believe, however, that this drawing was exceptional, and usually the work is started without a drawn plan. For the making of the great towers for cremation, for example, the master builder simply has the design and the proportions already worked out, as the Balinese say, "in his belly."

The only stone to be found in the island is a soft sandstone, a conglomerate of volcanic ash called *paras*, quarried on the banks of rivers. The stone appears to be softer when freshly taken from the ground and becomes harder with time under favourable conditions. Dr. Stutterheim claims that the stone was protected in old times by a coating of cement, but I had no occasion to verify this and I never found evidence of such cement being used by the present-day Balinese. It is perhaps the softness of this, the only stone in Bali, that is responsible for the over-intricate art of the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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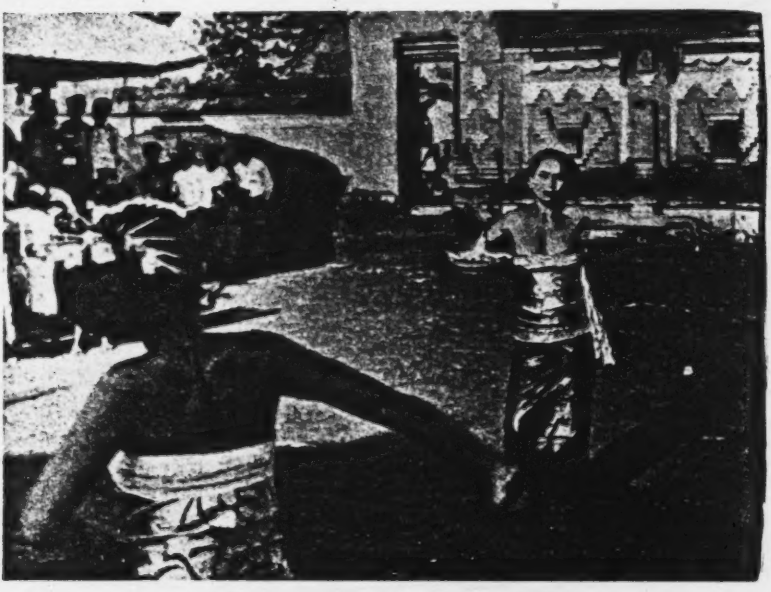

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ABOVE: *Mendet* in Sayan, an offering dance of the married women

BELOW: Noble girls of Gelgel making their prayers with flowers

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

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Women present offerings before the shrines

[opp. p. 16]